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on the contrary, welfare is a condition of progress. If, therefore, colonial powers would enhance welfare in their dependencies, they must aim directly at promoting welfare instead of expecting it as a sequel of economic development.

Here we encounter a preliminary difficulty in defining the concept of welfare. If we define welfare as consisting in harmony between the individual and his environment, colonial policy must aim at reconciling them. They can be reconciled in two ways: by submission to the environment, or by mastering it. The former might be consistent with material welfare if men were no more than cattle, but it fails because men are not merely cattle. It is true that men must accept the facts of their environment if they are to master it, and that tropical peoples, when brought into contact with the modern world, must come to terms with western civilization in order to achieve harmony with their environment, but they alone can promote their own welfare, and whereas modern colonial policy regards welfare as a condition of autonomy, we are led to the conclusion that, on the contrary, autonomy is a condition of welfare.

Colonial autonomy is a heritage from the Liberal tradition. But in the past it has been attempted through mechanical reconstruction by the introduction of a native personnel into the administration, and the imitation of western political institutions in local and central government. Such attempts to adapt tropical society to western forms of self-government are based on the fallacy that form gives birth to function, and they serve merely to facilitate the working of economic forces, destructive both of welfare and autonomy. If we would promote autonomy, and thereby welfare, we must aim at adapting western institutions to tropical society, on the principle that function will devise appropriate forms of government.

These in brief are the considerations that will engage our attention in the present chapter. They lead on to the conclusion that what is needed is not mechanical reconstruction, but a creative impulse, strong enough to solve the problem of restoring unity to a disintegrated social order, and strong enough also to surmount the obstacles arising from considerations of profit and prestige.

2. Welfare and Revenue

Under western rule, tropical dependencies produce more. Because people must grow more in order to eat more, it is natural to assume that they eat more because they grow more. But this assumption

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is invalid. Public works and economic services increase the productivity of western enterprise. They may also, within limits, increase native production, but without any corresponding enhancement of welfare. Such devices indeed, by allowing freer play to anti-social economic forces, tend to prejudice rather than promote native welfare, and create a need for social services to mitigate their deleterious effects. Yet the services intended to furnish the necessary protection function mainly to make production more efficient, and the services intended to promote welfare directly by improving health and education have a similar result; though designed as instruments of human welfare they are perverted into instruments of economic progress.

When the machinery for enhancing welfare proves ineffective, a remedy is sought in more and more elaborate and costly machinery. For the promotion of welfare, it is argued, economic and social services are needed; these cost money and require larger revenue; larger revenue can come only through economic development, and economic development depends on western enterprise and capital. Therefore western enterprise and capital are needed to provide the revenue for economic and social services that will enhance welfare. This is the proposition that we must now examine.

It is true that western enterprise and capital are effective agents of development; but so also is native enterprise. Both under direct rule and, though less conspicuously, under indirect rule, the maintenance of order and the opening up of new markets have sufficed to call forth native enterprise without the importation of western capital. It is true also that economic development provides more revenue. But at the same time it raises the cost of administration. This rises even with development by native enterprise, because expenditure must be incurred on law and order and on communications. But it rises far more rapidly and further with development by western enterprise. 'The most superficial observer must be struck by the difference which the existence of a resident European community makes in the standards of government expenditure.'[1] The European community demands better provision for its own amenities in respect of health, education and so on, and also demands better provision for natives so that they may furnish more efficient labour or more abundant produce. Some of the services incidental on development become indispensable. But usually the revenue from tropical dependencies barely suffices for urgent expenditure on the maintenance of order and the improvement

[1] *African Survey*, p. 1463.

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of communications. Not infrequently debts incurred to the Home Government have had to be remitted, and in most dependencies the financial position is one of constant stringency, while the inadequacy of the surplus available for economic and social services forms a recurrent burden of complaint both among officials and the representatives of western enterprise.

The argument that western enterprise is needed to provide the funds for social services assumes that the revenue derived from it more than covers the extra cost of administration consequent on economic development. But 'whether the local administrations have yet taken a sufficient share of the profits of foreign enterprise is a matter of some debate....It must be admitted that a number of administrations have shown reluctance to utilise fully their powers to impose taxation on the profits of companies or firms working in their territory, or have done so only in response to pressure from the Home Government'.[1] In practice, there is a deficit, which is met partly by imposing new obligations in services or taxation on the natives, and partly from private contributions, native and foreign.

It is indeed generally recognized that, in the course of economic development, excessive burdens have often been imposed upon the natives, either in taxation or compulsory labour, to meet the charges of general administration and the additional expenditure consequent on economic development, and even for the direct benefit of western enterprise.[2] Especially in the improvement of communications by road and rail, there have been serious abuses. In Africa, moreover, railway construction has mostly been unprofitable, constituting a charge on general revenue and cramping economic and social services so narrowly as to keep them below the standard required even for economic progress.

Another very considerable contribution to the cost of essential services comes from private sources. Among these one may reckon contributions from western enterprise otherwise than through taxation. As already mentioned, the great experimental stations in Netherlands India, which have done so much for the science of tropical agriculture, were until recently maintained by the planters' associations without Government assistance; they were intended to make production more profitable for those who supplied the funds, but their benefit radiated throughout the tropics and beyond, sometimes to the

[1] *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 22.
[2] *African Survey*, pp. 613, 635, 1549, 1565.

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detriment of local interests as in teaching India and Japan how to grow sugar. In all parts of the tropics, in Asia as well as in Africa, the more enlightened employers provide good quarters, medical attention and schools, and make their employees comply with modern sanitary requirements; such amenities make production more efficient and profitable. Employers will provide such services as they deem profitable, and on humanitarian grounds may carry this principle to the farthest limit or possibly beyond, but they are not disinclined to be relieved of the expense by the Government or private charity.

Private charity, indeed, together with the voluntary contributions and exertions of the inhabitants, seems to bear most of the cost of social service in the tropics. The assistance rendered by missionary organizations to educational and medical services is a matter of common knowledge. We have already noticed their large part in the provision of hospitals and schools. From the accounts of one mission in Uganda it appears that the public revenue furnished only £22,420—less than one-third of its charges—while the natives contributed £13,333 in gifts and £17,667 in school fees, and a grant from Europe provided £17,987.[1] This suggests that educational progress should be ascribed to Christianity rather than to western capital. If the encouragement of western enterprise is necessary to provide funds for economic and social services, one would expect the greatest progress in education where western enterprise penetrates most deeply. This is notoriously contradicted by the facts. As we have seen, during the nineteenth century education made far more rapid progress in Burma with development by native enterprise than in Java with development by western enterprise. Experience in Africa corroborates this view. The total expenditure of Government may be taken as an index to economic progress, and the expenditure on the education of non-natives is an index to the degree of western penetration. Such figures as are available under these heads suggest that the percentage of expenditure on native education is lowest where western enterprise is most conspicuous.[2]

Other facts point in the same direction. The first comprehensive enquiry into African education was financed by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in America, and American funds contributed largely to the foundation of the Jeanes schools that were established as one result of the enquiry. The monumental *African Survey*, conducted by Lord

[1] *African Survey*, p. 1306.
[2] *Ib.* p. 1309, and Table XI.

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Hailey, was rendered possible by the munificence of the Carnegie Trust. A substantial contribution towards the cost of a new Burmese dictionary has been made by the Leverhulme Trust. Even so wealthy a dependency as Malaya looked to the Rockefeller Foundation to provide funds for a campaign against hookworm, and to the same generosity it owes two chairs in its Medical School. The Leverhulme Trust makes grants to study economic conditions in Africa, and the Burma Oil Company provided the buildings for an Engineering School in Burma.[1] The two last instances should perhaps be classed with the expenditure incurred by intelligent employers with a view to conducting their affairs more efficiently and profitably.

It appears, then, that doles out of general revenue or by private charity relieve western enterprise of charges that it would otherwise have to incur on amenities in the interest of efficiency and profits, and go to promote economic progress rather than native welfare. In the preceding chapters we have seen that economic and social services, though an important factor in economic progress, do little to enhance welfare, except so far as it is necessary to economic progress. Now it appears that the contribution to public revenue by western enterprise is barely sufficient, and often insufficient, even to cover the additional administrative charges that it involves, and that the public revenue provides only a part, apparently a minor part, of the cost of social services. It is difficult to reconcile these facts with the theory that the provision of funds for greater welfare necessitates the encouragement of western enterprise.

It is equally difficult to reconcile this theory with the state of affairs in dependencies so prosperous as Java, Burma and Malaya. Java, under indirect rule, has been developed by western enterprise employing local labour. During thirty years of Liberal rule, with a rapid expansion of western enterprise, not only did the growing population 'gobble up the greater yield', but there was an actual fall in wages, nominal and real. Again, after another thirty years, with a constructive welfare policy based on ethical principles, and purporting to encourage economic development with a view to enhancing native welfare, economists are unable to assure us that the people are better off. Dr Boeke, whom we have already quoted, returns to the subject in his latest publication. With reference to irrigation, colonization, the clearing of fresh land, the increase of secondary crops and home-grown

[1] *African Survey*, pp. 1228, 1252; Mills, pp. 310, 316; Mayhew, *Colonial Empire*, pp. 120ff.; *Colonial Review*, Sept. 1944, p. 194.

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population was checked at the point of diminishing returns. In all these lands the growth of population has reflected the conditions of employment, but whether numerous or scanty, under different systems of rule and with different methods of development, the people remain poor. Economic development has failed to enhance material welfare.

The argument for economic development as an instrument of welfare further assumes that economic and social services are necessary for the provision of welfare. We have already seen that this is not the case. Cultivators adopt new crops and new methods of cultivation without the aid of economic services, and the people take to new foods without encouragement from dieticians. One of the outstanding victories over the tsetse fly in Africa was achieved by ordinary natives, under sympathetic leading, but with no expenditure on welfare services.[1] Most of the reforms most urgently needed in social life in most parts of the tropics need no expert knowledge, and could be introduced without any special staff (though a special staff *should*, of course, facilitate and expedite their introduction). Where the people can be induced to want new amenities they will pay for them, as they do for schooling in Uganda and elsewhere. Thus the inability to promote welfare in tropical dependencies cannot be ascribed to the limitation of economic and social services through lack of revenue or of funds from other sources, and we must seek another explanation.

3. The Measurement of Welfare

If we cannot accept the rapid economic progress of tropical dependencies as sufficient evidence of increasing welfare, we must look elsewhere for a yard-stick by which it may be measured. In social science as in physical science, only beginners and amateurs will conduct experiments without trying so far as possible to measure the results. Some of the older dependencies produce masses of statistics purporting to show the population revenue, and trade, and also matters of social interest, such as litigation, crime and the numbers at school or in jail. The statistics, however, are mostly compiled for administrative purposes and have little meaning or interest for outsiders; many figures are of doubtful accuracy and are frequently misleading, full of traps for the unwary (and even for those who compile them and use them in administration). One might expect at least the trade returns to be intelligible to the public, but anyone who has tried to work on them will endorse the comment of Lord Hailey that 'eccentricity, so in-

[1] Hinden, p. 202.

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Enquiry' by Wellenstein, a technique has been developed for turning to the best account such statistics as have any bearing on native welfare.[1]

Lord Hailey has remarked that in Africa the existing statistics might be considerably improved without additional expense, and that a comparatively small expenditure would make them much more useful. That remark applies also to Burma and probably to most other tropical dependencies. Unsatisfactory as the statistics for Netherlands India are in some respects, they do at least serve to illuminate many corners that are left dark elsewhere, and the general neglect to provide means for judging how far the benevolent aspirations expressed in statements of colonial policy bear fruit in practice, naturally affords a handle for critics of colonial administration to suggest that it is more keenly interested in economic progress than in native welfare. It is not enough that material should be available for measuring individual welfare. The analysis of welfare demands a suitable technique for measuring social welfare by presenting accurate and intelligible information regarding debt, civil litigation, crime, health, education and other matters that find no place in individual budgets of income and expenditure. There would still remain imponderable elements, those cultural and religious aspects of social life in the tropics which are the first to suffer from the economic struggle for survival of the cheapest consequent on the impact of the West. But this is no reason for neglecting to carry so far as possible the objective scientific measurement of welfare.

4. The Machinery of Welfare

The deficiency of statistical material is a notable defect in the machinery of welfare. But it is not the only, and not the chief, defect. It may seem that no special machinery is necessary, that the care for welfare may be left to the local official charged with the maintenance of order. That is very largely true. Any European official can tell the people that dirt breeds disease, or explain the benefit of vaccination, or advise them to destroy mosquitoes and rats, or bring to their knowledge new and more profitable crops, or suggest new breeds of cattle, or inculcate the advantages of thrift and the danger of getting entangled with moneylenders. None of the most urgent reforms in the daily life of tropical peoples calls for special scientific equipment beyond the stock of knowledge common to educated Europeans. Natives have frequently

[1] Furnivall, *Economic Journal of India*, 1934, p. 295.

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adopted of their own accord innovations which appeal to them, and it would seem possible for European officials to recommend European standards of hygiene and other reforms with little or no expenditure on welfare services. It is true that modern science has done much and can do more for the welfare of tropical peoples. The connection between rats and plague and between mosquitoes and malaria are recent scientific discoveries, and scientists have traced the origin of hookworm and beri-beri. There is unbounded scope for research, and useful expenditure on it is limited only by the funds available. But it is well to remember that research does not bear fruit until it is applied to daily life; its practical application depends on the efficiency of the machinery of welfare.

It is true also that administrative officials should be better able to promote welfare if they have the assistance of departmental specialists. But departmental specialists will usually need the help of administrative officials if they are to get into touch with the people in their daily life. The departmental specialist is probably an expert in his own line, but one can hardly expect him also to be expert in native economy and customs or to be proficient in native languages. It is useless for the medical officer to advocate shoes for hookworm if the people cannot afford to buy shoes, or for the sanitary department to devise modern latrines which the people will not use, or for the agriculturist to recommend crops which local conditions of labour or water supply do not allow the people to grow. Although the specialist may try to adapt native life to scientific principles, the administrative official should be capable of adapting scientific principles to native life. Thus the welfare specialist must ordinarily work in double harness with the administrative official by his side. But the administrative official can do little to promote welfare unless he knows the locality, and what needs doing; has influence that will lead the people to attend to his advice; and remains among them long enough to make certain that they act on it. All these conditions must be fulfilled if welfare work is to succeed.

The machinery ordinarily employed differs according as the system of rule is direct or indirect. In the adoption of direct rule one object was to promote greater welfare through liberating the people from arbitrary oppression by their own chieftains. On this plan all the administrative officials, European and native, became servants of the law, charged with administering equal law to all. When it became apparent that the law, while liberating the people from arbitrary will,

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subjected them to mechanical economic forces, attempts were made to protect them against the action of these forces. That is the distinctive character of welfare machinery under direct rule; it allows free play within the law to economic forces, but attempts to mitigate their consequences. This is directly contrary to the method of indirect rule, systematized by Van den Bosch in Java, which tries to soften the impact of economic forces by leaving the people under their own chieftains and their own customs, while aiming to protect them against arbitrary oppression. Direct rule attempts to mitigate the action of economic forces; indirect rule aims at providing a buffer against their action. There is a corresponding difference in the machinery of welfare.

(*a*) *Direct Rule.* It is often suggested or implied that the promotion of welfare in the tropics requires nothing more than the provision of funds for the services of experts. But this view disregards the conditions limiting their activities. The application of science to the affairs of daily life is quite a novel idea even in Europe; each generation of doctors regards its predecessors as unscientific, and in agriculture, hygiene, dietetics and other studies, what is held for true to-day may be out of date to-morrow. But the tropics are still almost virgin lands in science; experience in Europe may be misleading and conclusions based on it invalid. Conditions are different or even contrary. Cultivation requires a cool soil instead of a warm soil; natives apparently maintain good health on a diet that, according to western science, is defective; plague and malaria were spread by measures intended to prevent them. The application of modern science to tropical problems requires long and patient research, and continuity of experiment. But tropical life is adverse to continuity; men go on leave or are transferred for administrative convenience. Lack of continuity nullified experiments on rice cultivation in Malaya, and official transfers hampered the researches of Ross on malaria. Moreover, any single problem may, and often does, require a whole staff of experts for its solution. In agriculture the investigation of a single crop disease may need the collaboration of agricultural experts, botanists, entomologists and so on. The same principle applies in almost all departments of economic and social life. If the agricultural expert, by patient research breeds a more productive variety of some generally grown crop, the people may be unable to take advantage of it because of difficulties in the supply of labour, water or credit; his work raises new problems for a wide circle of other departmental specialists and it will be wasted without their co-operation.

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It is easy, given the funds, to multiply economic and social services. But the multiplication of service tends to defeat its own ends, and greater expenditure gives worse results through excessive departmentalism. Each specialist looks at life through departmental blinkers. The agriculturist sees nothing but the crops, the veterinary expert only the cattle; to the sanitary inspector the latrine is more important than the home, and the policeman would guarantee security more confidently if the whole population were in jail. Often the experts are at issue. The agriculturist advocates grazing reserves to provide fodder, while the veterinary officer wants to close them to prevent infection; the fishery officer advises the people to breed fish, and the medical officer drains the ponds to kill mosquitoes. Everywhere the specialist inclines to a narrow view of life, but in the tropics departmentalism has peculiar dangers; in Europe the expert looks at a familiar world, but in the tropics, owing to his ignorance of native life, the field is out of focus. In Europe the expert understands the public and the public understands the expert, because they have a common background, but in the tropics it is only the European community in the towns and western enterprise that has a mutual understanding with the expert and values his assistance. Thus the natives in towns prefer to live in the native quarter, where they can escape the unwelcome attentions of the sanitary inspector, 'whose unreasonable prejudice against picturesque filth is never understood';[1] and plantation coolies, on returning home, lapse into their old comfortable ways. Moreover in Europe there is an organic community, living its own life, which can decide for itself what it wants most; but in the tropics, where innovations are pressed on the people from outside, there naturally ensues a lack of co-ordination between the competing and often contrary activities of the departmental specialists; too many cooks, as usual, spoil the broth. The confusion may be mitigated on the Dutch plan by grouping allied services in large departments under a single head. But this device alone is insufficient. What an organic community does by the dynamic force of its inherent vitality must in the tropics be entrusted to some official personifying, as it were, the common social will. There must be someone to co-ordinate the activities of departmental specialists and to foster a demand among the people for their services.

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Under direct rule the District officer, the local civil servant in charge

[1] Burns, p. 306.

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welfare, and it seems not unreasonable to assume that similar results will follow in the tropics. Schools, sanitary regulations, the improvement of agriculture, and so on, appeal to humanitarians as likely to improve individual welfare, and by making for economy in administration and business, they appeal to reason as well as to sentiment. Naturally colonial governments conceive of welfare on western lines, and administrative practice is concentrated on enhancing the welfare of the people as individuals.

These attempts to promote welfare are effective only so far as the people will respond to them. The West may scatter pearls, or what it takes for pearls, about the tropics, but the people will not pick them up unless they appreciate their value. Scientific agriculture, modern schools, western medicine and sanitary regulations may not conduce to, and frequently conflict with, what the people regard as welfare, but if they cannot get what they want they must take what they can get. Agricultural and other economic services may enable them to earn more as individuals; modern schools may provide their youngsters with 'a decent job'; they may adopt some western foods or remedies for illness, and they may, perhaps, go to hospitals to be cured of their complaints. But these are all individual benefits, and have no relation to welfare as a social good. Welfare consists essentially in harmony between the individual and the environment; the environment must allow him to obtain both what he knows he wants and also what he wants without being aware of it. Economic progress enlarges the possibility of welfare by increasing the command of man over material resources, but it profits the native as an individual only so far as he participates in the larger surplus, and it enhances his welfare only so far as it contributes, directly or indirectly, to the enrichment of his social life.

8. Welfare and Autonomy

There is, as we have noticed, a growing recognition of the complexity of welfare problems. 'The problems of development touch upon the work of officers in various departments, such as administrative officers, both at headquarters and in the districts, and the technical officers in the agricultural, veterinary, medical and other services. There is need for machinery to provide complete co-ordination between these separate departmental staffs.'[1] The health officer finds that he must seek assistance from the chemist and entomologist, and the veterinary officer

[1] 1940, Cmd. 6175, p. 7; *African Survey*, p. 1612.

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looks to the forest officer to provide grazing for the stock. As experts come more and more to recognize the need for special knowledge outside their own branch of study, there is an increasing demand for the creation of new services, and welfare work is distributed among departmental officials who are unable to see life as a whole. At the same time there is a growing recognition that all aspects of life are closely interrelated. In Malaya the improvement of paddy is found to require co-ordinated action by the agricultural irrigation, co-operative credit, education and other services.[1] In Nyasaland the Welfare Committee comprises representatives of the Medical, Agricultural and Public Works Department together with non-officials. In Southern Rhodesia there is a Director of Native Development in charge of all native affairs.[2] The Dutch in Netherlands India minimize sectionalism by grouping the various services in large departments and, further, link up some of the departments by liaison officers. All these expedients may improve the co-ordination of the welfare machinery. But it still remains machinery, and acts mechanically on the people taken in the mass as an aggregate of individuals. Each group of specialists takes snapshots of the people from its own angle, but the composite photograph obtained by fitting the results together bears as little relation to the native world as a Hollywood film to life. It shows native life from an alien western standpoint and, however lifelike, it never comes to life. The more elaborate the machinery, the more mechanically it functions, driven by economic forces and not by human will. Improvements in the administrative machinery merely effect reforms which adapt the people better to the economic forces that dominate life in tropical dependencies. Evolution along this line leads to a dead end. It is the type of evolution characteristic of the lower forms of life which have survived by adapting their way of life to their environment; to adapt his environment to his way of life is the prerogative of man, and reforms adapting him to an uncongenial environment produce not harmony but discontent. The impact of the West has liberated forces which were formerly kept under control by custom; for the enhancement of welfare it is necessary that the people shall be enabled to regain control over these forces, that they shall regain their former autonomy. That a higher standard of welfare is a condition of autonomy is alleged as one ground for the elaboration of welfare machinery. But improvements in welfare machinery resemble improvements in applied science. Research in applied science may increase the efficiency of

[1] Mills, pp. 255, 260. [2] *African Survey*, pp. 1197, 1227, 1230.

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current practice, but the great scientific achievements come from research in pure science, which revolutionizes practice by attacking old problems along new lines. Similarly the elaboration of welfare machinery can have no appreciable effect on welfare, and still less can it promote autonomy. It will not give them what they want unless they want what it can give, and the promotion of welfare must be approached from a new angle by a revolution in method. The machinery is not only defective, but is applied on a wrong principle.

But, in the modern world, how is it possible for tropical peoples to get what they want? For the environment has changed, and not the people; they still, if left to themselves, would try to reproduce their old environment. But they have been brought into contact with the modern world and cannot get away from it. All the king's horses and all the king's men cannot set the clock back. They can get what they want only if they want what in the conditions of the modern world they *must* want. A fundamental problem of autonomy is to change the people so that they shall come to want, or at least voluntarily to accept, those conditions which the welfare of the modern world requires. Some light should be thrown upon this problem from an examination of attempts already made to introduce self-government among dependent peoples in various projects of colonial autonomy.

9. Autonomy

Colonial autonomy is closely linked with the Liberal tradition, which had two aspects. On the economic side it stood for economic freedom, freedom of person, property and trade; on the political side it stood for freedom of thought, speech and religion. Political freedom was regarded as the natural fruit of economic freedom. In the nineteenth century Liberalism was in the air. British and Dutch colonial statesmen alike claimed Liberal ideals though interpreting them differently; French Liberals recognized their colonial subjects as citizens of France, and Liberalism in Spain, suppressed at home, took refuge in the Spanish territories overseas.

During a great part of the century Liberals in Britain thought colonies a burden, and often cited Turgot's dictum comparing them to fruit that would fall from the parent tree when ripe. Men looked forward to the day when India should be able to stand alone as the proudest day in the story of British rule. Practical administrators like Sir Thomas Munro argued that when Indians were sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, it would